

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 226659  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011

DRAFTED BY: S/S:PTARNOFF

APPROVED BY: S/S:PTARNOFF

-----059067 211638Z /42

O 211613Z SEP 77 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 226659

NODIS

CHEROKEE EYES ONLY FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING IS REPEAT PEKING 2138, SENT SECSTATE 21 SEPT:

QUOTE S E C R E T PEKING 2138

NODIS/CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: CH US

SUBJ: THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH HUANG HUA IN NEW YORK

REF: PEKING 2122

1. TO CLEAR THE AIR IN YOUR MEETING WITH HUANG HUA IN NEW YORK, I THINK YOU SHOULD OPEN DISCUSSIONS BY REGRETTING THAT THE CHINESE SEEM TO HAVE CHANGED THEIR MINDS ON HOW YOUR VISIT WENT. YOU WERE SURPRISED TO HEAR THAT VICE PREMIER TENG, WHO HAD SAID WHILE YOU WERE HERE THAT YOUR TALKS WERE "CORDIAL AND USEFUL," SUBSEQUENTLY GAVE THE TALKS A DIFFERENT AND MORE NEGATIVE CHARACTERIZATION.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 226659

2. FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG, WHO HAS IN THE PAST ALWAYS INSISTED ON THE LAST WORD IN SUCH EXCHANGES NO MATTER WHAT THE PRICE, WILL PROBABLY ANSWER REPEATING THE LINE WE HAVE HEARD FROM SEVERAL CHINESE LEADERS IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS (REFTEL).

3. RATHER THAN REPLY IN KIND I THINK YOU MIGHT THEN

POINT OUT THAT SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES TO WHICH THE CHINESE OBJECT MIGHT BE DUE TO THE PRESSURE CAUSED BY THE INEVITABLE PUBLIC EXPECTATION AND MEDIA ATTENTION WHICH VISITS SUCH AS YOURS CREATE. ALTHOUGH IT IS USEFUL FOR THE WORLD TO KNOW WHAT WE HAVE IN COMMON, IT CAN ONLY DELAY NORMALIZATION TO HAVE MISUNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT OUR BILATERAL DIFFERENCES WIDELY ADVERTISED. TO REDUCE THAT SORT OF PRESSURE YOU COULD SUGGEST THAT FURTHER TALKS ON BILATERAL MATTERS BE HELD AT THE USLO-MFA LEVEL TO FOLLOW UP ON YOUR EXPLORATORY PROPOSALS OF LAST MONTH TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CHINESE REACTION TO THOSE PROPOSALS AND OUR SUBSEQUENT REVIEW. TIMING COULD BE LEFT VAGUE BUT I WOULD HOPE WE COULD OPEN SUCH DISCUSSIONS BY THIS WINTER.

4. WE ARE NOT GOING TO PRODUCE ANY DRAMATIC CHANGES IN CHINESE POSITIONS WITH THIS MOVE. I FEEL, THOUGH, THAT WE WOULD BE MUCH BETTER OFF IF WE PURSUE THE GOAL OF NORMALIZATION AT THIS LEVEL, PARTICULARLY IF WE DECIDE TO ACCEPT THE "JAPANESE FORMULA" AND OPEN TALKS ON THE MODALITIES SURROUNDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

5. NEEDLESS TO SAY I THINK WE SHOULD ACCEPT THE "JAPANESE FORMULA" OF NON-OFFICIAL REPRESENTATION  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 226659

IN TAIPEI. THE LABEL COVERS ENOUGH TO MEET OUR REAL NEEDS ON TAIWAN JUST AS IT HAS SERVED FOR MANY OTHER GOVERNMENTS WHO MAINTAIN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PEKING AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL "CIVIL NEEDS" IN TAIPEI.

6. WE ARE NOW AT A POINT WHERE IT LOOKS CERTAIN THAT THE CHINESE ARE NOT GOING TO ALTER THEIR PUBLIC LINE ON TAIWAN TO MAKE LIFE EASIER FOR US. TENG'S STATEMENT TO THE ASSOCIATED PRESS GROUP ("IF THE US DOES NOT INTERFERE WE CAN NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.) WAS AS GOOD AS WE ARE GOING TO GET. I THINK WE SHOULD AVOID EITHER CHALLENGING OR PUBLICLY INTERPRETING THAT STATEMENT AT THIS TIME. WHILE WE LET THAT STAND WE SHOULD PROCEED TO DEFINE HOW THE "JAPANESE FORMULA" MUST BE STRETCHED TO MEET OUR NEEDS. THIS WOULD BE NOT FOR IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATING PURPOSES -- I DON'T THINK WE SHOULD DISCUSS WITH THE PRC THE DETAILS OF OUR FUTURE TAIWAN CONNECTION-- BUT WOULD ALLOW US TO SEE HOW WE SHOULD PROCEED AT HOME. FOR ONCE WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO MANIPULATE CHINESE DEFINITIONS OF WHAT IS FORM AND WHAT IS SUBSTANCE TO OUR ADVANTAGE.

7. I HOPE WE WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO DISCUSS THIS IN  
MORE DETAIL NEXT WEEK WHEN I RETURN TO WASHINGTON.  
WOODCOCK UNQUOTE. VANCE

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ESTABLISHMENT, CAT-C, CHEROKEE 9-21-77, MINISTERIAL VISITS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 21-Sep-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977STATE226659  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** S/S:PTARNOFF  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X3  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** N770005-0795  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 2  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770938/aaaabfom.tel  
**Line Count:** 120  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** fcff7240-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** NODIS, ONLY  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS, ONLY  
**Reference:** 77 PEKING 2122  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 30-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1185944  
**Secure:** LOCK1  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH HUANG HUA IN NEW YORK  
**TAGS:** PGOV, OVIP, PDIP, CH, US, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (HUANG HUA)  
**To:** WHITE HOUSE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/fcff7240-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009